

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2023

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA BY POUCH

AMEMBASSY ATHENS BY POUCH

AMEMBASSY BONN BY POUCH

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS BY POUCH

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USMISSION USEC BRUSSELS

USMISSION OECD PARIS BY POUCH

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 THE HAGUE 4175

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, NL

SUBJ: 1974 FOREIGN AFFAIRS BUDGET MEMORANDUM

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1. SUMMARY: IN 185-PAGE MEMORANDUM ACCOMPANYING MFA'S 1974 BUDGET, FOREIGN MINISTER VAN DER STOEL EMPHASIZED MAJOR OBJECTIVE OF GON FOREIGN POLICY IS MAINTENANCE OF PEACE--BUT PEACE WHICH HAS POSITIVE CONTENT AND IS NOT MERELY

THE ABSENCE OF WAR. FONMIN SAYS UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES FIRM ATLANTIC COOPERATION REMAINS ESSENTIAL FOR SECURITY IN WESTERN EUROPE AND WORLD STABILITY. IT IS BASIS FOR PROMOTION OF EAST-WEST DETENTE WHICH WILL REQUIRE CONSIDERABLE TIME AND IS ONLY IN INITIAL STAGES. TO RETAIN CREDIBILITY, NATO ALLIANCE MUST CONTINUE TO STRIVE FOR DEMOCRACY IN ALL MEMBER STATES. GON WILL CONTINUE TO DO "WHATEVER IS REASONABLY POSSIBLE" TO COMBAT VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS NO MATTER IN WHAT COUNTRY. ON QUESTION OF EUROPEAN UNITY, MEMORANDUM NOTES THERE IS STILL NO CERTAINTY NINE HAVE POLITICAL WILL TO FORGE EUROPEAN UNION BY 1980. GON WISHES TO CONCENTRATE ON ACHIEVING EUROPEAN POLITICAL UNION AND NOT COMPLICATE EFFORT BY TRYING TO FORM DEFENSE UNION AT SAME TIME. MEMORANDUM SAYS CAP IN PRESENT FORM HAS SOME UNDESIRABLE ASPECTS AND PROPOSES ABOLITION OF "REVERSE PREFERENCES."

2. NOTING PROGRESS IN EAST-WEST DETENTE, MFA MEMORANDUM WARNS OF NEED FOR NATIONS OTHER THAN US AND USSR TO SAFEGUARD THEIR OWN OBJECTIVES. IN DEFENSE SECTION MEMORANDUM STRESSES DEFENSE RATIONALIZATION AND IMPOSSIBILITY OF SMALL NATIONS FULFILLING COMPLETE SPECTRUM OF DEFENSE TASKS. GON, WHICH PLANS INCREASE CONTRIBUTION TO UN APARTHEID FUND AND SUPPORT LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, ASKS OTHER NATIONS TO JOIN IN EFFORT, ALTHOUGH STIPULATING THIS DOES NOT MEAN "WEAPONS OR FINANCING ARMS PURCHASES". IN MIDDLE EAST SECTION MEMORANDUM NOTES SITUATION STILL "VERY TENSE" WITH INDICATIONS ARAB NATIONS WISH TO BREAK THROUGH IMPASSE BY PRESSURE ON EUROPE AND US USING OIL FOR LEVERAGE. GON REJECTS ALL TERRORIST ACTIVITIES AND HOPES ARAB NATIONS WILL TAKE ACTION TO COMBAT THEM. GON ALSO HOPES ISRAEL WILL BE MORE RELUCTANT TO TAKE COUNTER-ACTIONS. GON PROMISES TO SUPPORT ALL INITIATIVES AIMED AT ARAB-ISRAEL CONTACTS WHICH COULD LEAD TO GENUINE NEGOTIATIONS. GON NOTES DISARMAMENT WHITE PAPER WILL BE SUBMITTED TO PARLIAMENT IN NEAR FUTURE, ALTHOUGH EARLY OR SPECTACULAR LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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RESULTS IN THIS AREA SHOULD NOT BE EXPECTED. MEMORANDUM STRESSES DUTCH SUPPORT FOR CTB AND FOR SOVIET WDC PROPOSAL PROVIDING PERMANENT MEMBERS OF SC PARTICIPATE. FIRST FOREIGN AFFAIRS BUDGET MEMORANDUM OF NEW LEFT WING GOVT IS LIKE GOVT DECLARATION, QUEEN'S SPEECH AND BUDGET ITSELF, RELATIVELY MODERATE DOCUMENT WHICH SUGGESTS THAT AT LEAST ON ISSUES OF CRUCIAL SIGNIFICANCE TO US, E.G. EUROPEAN SECURITY, ATLANTIC COOPERATION, MIDDLE EAST POLICY ETC, US AND GON STILL ON SAME WAVELENGTH. END SUMMARY.

3. KEYSTONE OF DUTCH POLICY. IN MEMORANDUM ACCOMPANYING FOREIGN MINISTRY'S BUDGET, PRESENTED TO PARLIAMENT ON

SEPT 18, FONMIN VAN DER STOEL AND HIS COLLEAGUES, STATE SECRETARIES BRINKHORST AND KOOYMANS, STATE THE FIRST AND PREDOMINANT OBJECTIVE OF DUTCH FOREIGN POLICY IS THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE, BUT PEACE IN THE POSITIVE SENSE, I.E. PEACE WHICH IS MORE THAN THE ABSENCE OF WAR. SUCH A POLICY WILL BE "STEADFAST IN ITS STARTING POINTS AND OBJECTIVES AND FLEXIBLE IN IMPLEMENTATION." UNDER THE PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES, FIRM ATLANTIC COOPERATION WILL REMAIN NECESSARY BOTH FOR WESTERN EUROPEAN SECURITY AND WORLD STABILITY. ATLANTIC COOPERATION WILL ALSO PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR PROMOTION OF EAST-WEST DETENTE, WHICH WILL TAKE A CONSIDERABLE TIME AND NOW IS ONLY IN ITS INITIAL STAGES.

4. HUMAN RIGHTS. TO ENSURE NATO CREDIBILITY, GON WILL CONTINUE TO STRIVE FOR "THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DEMOCRATIC RELATIONS IN ALL MEMBER STATES." COOPERATION WITHIN THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE CAN ONLY RETAIN ITS VITAL STRENGTH IF THE FUNDAMENTAL VALUES OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM, POLITICAL DEMOCRACY, AND RESPECT FOR THE FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS DO NOT REMAIN A DEAD LETTER BUT ARE FULLY PUT INTO PRACTICE EVERYWHERE." GON WILL ALSO DO WHATEVER IT CAN TO COMBAT VIOLATIONS OF RIGHTS, NO MATTER UNDER WHAT POLITICAL REGIME. HOWEVER, MEMORANDUM REALISTICALLY POINTS OUT LIMITATIONS ON DUTCH INTERVENTION ADDING, "THE EFFICIENCY OF THE INTERVENTION WILL SOMETIMES BE SERVED BEST BY DISCRETION".

5. EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. DESPITE EC ENLARGEMENT, THERE SEEMS LITTLE QUALITATIVE CHANGE WITHIN COMMUNITY AND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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THERE IS STILL NO CERTAINTY EC NATIONS HAVE POLITICAL WILL TO CREATE EUROPEAN UNION IN ACCORDANCE WITH PARIS SUMMIT TIMETABLE, I.E. BY 1980. MEMORANDUM POINTS OUT THERE ARE SO FAR NO SIGNS OF BREAKTHROUGH ON CERTAIN DECISIONS WHICH NECESSARY FOR SUCCESS OF EC UNIFICATION. FONMIN NOTES EC COMMISSION'S FAILURE TO SUBMIT REPORT ON DISTRIBUTION OF POWERS AND RESPONSIBILITIES. PROPOSALS FINALLY SUBMITTED ARE TERMED "SERIOUSLY DISAPPOINTING". IN VIEW COMMISSION'S FAILURE PROVIDE INSIGHT INTO FINAL FORM AND CONTENTECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION, GON RECOMMENDS TRANSITION TO THE SECOND STAGE SCHEDULED FOR JANUARY 1 BE POSTPONED (AT MOST ONE YEAR). MEMORANDUM SUGGESTS TIMETABLE DRAWN UP BY 1972 PARIS SUMMIT MAY HAVE BEEN TOO AMBITIOUS AND THAT COUNCIL OF MINISTERS AGENDA OVERLOADED. GON FEELS DECISION-MAKING WITHIN COUNCIL OF MINISTERS MAY BE IMPROVED BY VOTING WITHIN COUNCIL RATHER THAN DECISION BY CONSENSUS AND BY DELEGATING CONTROL TAKS TO COMMISSION. MFA SAYS THAT BY RESTRICTING PROPOSALS ON STRENGTHENING OF POSITION OF EC TO BUDGETARY POWERS AND FINANCIAL CONTROL AND BY FAILING TO MAKE PROPOSALS ON LEGIS-

LATIVE POWERS, EUROPEAN COMMISSION HAD GIVEN TOO RESTRICTED
IMPLEMENTATION TO 1970 AGREEMENT AND HAD NOT PROVIDED FOR RIGHT OF
EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT TO APPOINT COMMISSION, REJECT BUDGET,
OR HAVE UNRESTRICTED RIGHT OF AMENDMENT.

6. EUROPEAN DEFENSE. GON WISHES TO REFRAIN FROM
ADOPTING SPECIFIC STANDS ON COMMON EUROPEAN DEFENSE
POLICY. WHILE IN PRINCIPLE GON DOES NOT REJECT
EUROPEAN COOPERATION IN DEFENSE FIELD, IT FEELS EUROPEAN
UNIFICATION EFFORT ALREADY COMPLEX ENOUGH WITHOUT
ADDITION OF DEFENSE DIMENSION.

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7. AGRICULTURAL AND TRADE POLICY. GON BELIEVES CAP HAS "UNDESIRABLE ASPECTS" IN ITS PRESENT FORM AND WELCOMES COMMISSION'S PLEDGE TO SUBMIT REPORT ON POSSIBLE REVISION. GON CONTENTS PROBLEMS IN THIS AREA ARE RESULT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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OF INTEGRATION'S FAILURE TO KEEP PACE WITH AGRICULTURAL UNIFICATION. LOOKING TOWARD FORTHCOMING TRADE NEGOTIATIONS, GON SAYS EC SHOULD PAY ATTENTION TO ALL DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, NOT MERELY THOSE WITH ASSOCIATION ARRANGEMENTS, AND RECOMMENDS ABOLITION OF REVERSE PREFERENCES.

8. EAST-WEST RELATIONS-NATO. US-SOVIET RAPPROCHEMENT MAKES IT ALL THE MORE NECESSARY FOR OTHER COUNTRIES INVOLVED TO TAKE ACCOUNT OF THEIR OWN SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES AND INTERESTS. GON WELCOMES US-SOVIET EFFORTS TO REMOVE SOURCES OF DISTRUST AND TO ARRIVE AT THE DELIMITATION OF COMMON INTERESTS, NOTING THAT BILATERAL EFFORTS HAVE VITAL CONSEQUENCES FOR MULTILATERAL CONSULTATIONS. GON CONSIDERS EAST-WEST DETENTE A LENGTHY PROCESS AND FOLLOWS SECOND STAGE OF CSCE "WITHOUT HIGH EXPECTATIONS BUT WITH A FIRM WILL TO ARRIVE AT POSITIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE RESULTS." NATO CONTINUES TO FULFILL CENTRAL FUNCTION IN DIALOGUE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. DESPITE IMPORTANCE OF NATO, MEMO CONTENTS IT NO LONGER POSSIBLE FOR SMALLER COUNTRIES TO FULFILL ALMOST COMPLETE SPECTRUM OF DEFENSE TALKS. THEREFORE WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF INTEGRATED DEFENSE COOPERATION IT IS NECESSARY TO ARRIVE AT AN ESSENTIALLY BETTER DISTRIBUTION OF TASKS.

9. MIDDLE EAST. MFA MEMORANDUM NOTES SITUATION IN MIDDLE EAST IS "VERY TENSE" WITH INDICATIONS ARAB COUNTRIES MAY TRY USE OIL TO FORCE US AND EUROPE TO BREAK THROUGH CURRENT IMPASSE. GON REJECTS ALL TERRORIST ACTIVITY AND HOPES ARAB NATIONS, FROM WHICH SUCH TERRORISM EMANATES, WILL DO WHAT THEY CAN TO COMBAT IT. DUTCH FEEL ISRAEL SHOULD BE EXTREMELY RELUCTANT TO TAKE COUNTER-ACTIONS, NOTING LIBYAN AIRCRAFT TRAGEDY, AND REMARK SUCH COUNTER-ACTION MERELY INCREASES TENSION AND DIMINISHES HOPE OF INDUCING EITHER EGYPTIAN OR ISRAELI GOVERNMENTS TO ADOPT SOME SORT OF FLEXIBILITY. DUTCH FEEL CREATION OF ATMOSPHERE OF TRUST IS ONE OF ESSENTIAL PREREQUISITES TO SOLUTION OF MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM AND THAT STRIVING FOR TERRITORIAL CHANGES AAAAND INSTITUTION OF SECURITY ONES SHOULD NOT BE PREDOMINANT. GON PROMISES TO SUPPORT ALL INITIATIVES AIMED AT CONTACTS WHICH MAY LEAD LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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TO NEGOTIATIONS. DUTCH REITERATE THEIR VIEW JARRING
RESOLUTION OF 1967 OFFERS BEST CHANCES FOR SOLUTION.
GON NOTES THAT JUST SOLUTION OF REFUGEE PROBLEM IS AS
ESSENTIAL AS SOLUTION TO TERRITORIAL PROBLEM AND NOTES
GON PLANS INITIATIVE ON REORGANIZATION OF UNRWA
(THE HAGUE 4157).

9. AFRICA. GON WILL INCREASE CONTRIBUTION TO UN
EDUCATION AND TRAINING FUND AND APARTHEID FUND.
MEMORANDUM SAYS APARTHEID POLICY CONFLICTS WITH UNIVERSAL
VIEWS ON INDIVIDUAL EQUALITY AS CONTAINED IN DECLARATION
ON HUMAN RIGHTS. GON WILL NOT COOPERATE IN ANY WAY IN
PERPETUATION OF APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA BUT SEES NO
BENEFIT IN ISOLATING SOUTH AFRICA. GON WILL SUPPORT ALL
UN RESOLUTIONS AIMED AT PROVIDING MORAL AND MATERIAL
ASSISTANCE TO SELF-DETERMINATION EFFORTS OF AFRICANS IN
COLONIAL TERRITORIES. MEMORANDUM SPECIFIES SUCH SUPPORT
MUST NOT BE IN FORM OF WEAPONS OR ARMS
PURCHASES. GON CENTENDS SOUTH AFRICAN POSITION IN
NAMIBIA IS ILLEGAL AND IN CONFLICT WITH RIGHT OF
SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE. GON WILL SUPPORT ALL
EFFORTS TO CHANGE THIS SITUATION BY PEACEFUL MEANS. ON
RHODESIA, MEMORANDUM NOTES INTER-MINISTERIAL WORKING
GROUP IS INVESTIGATING WHETHER SANCTIONS AGAINST
RHODESIA CAN BE APPLIED MORE STRONGLY AND CAN BE SUPPLE-
MENTED. GON SUPPORTS BRITISH SIX PRINCIPLES AND EFFORTS
TO CHANGE VIEWS OF WHITE MINORITY RHODESIA REGIME BY
MEANS OF UN'S MANDATORY SANCTIONS.

1. DISARMAMENT. GON WILL SUBMIT SPECIAL NOTE TO
PARLIAMENT IN WHICH IT WILL ELABORATE ITS DISARMAMENT
POLICY. MEMORANDUM ADMITS ARMS CONTROL IS ONE OF MOST
DIFFICULT FIELDS OF FOREIGN POLICY AND WARNS AGAINST
EXPECTING "EARLY OR SPECTACULAR RESULTS."
MEMORANDUM NOTES LONGHELD DUTCH VIEW THAT CTB POSSIBLE
WITHOUT ON SITE VERIFICATION. GON CRITICIZES SOVIET DRAFT
OF CHEMICAL WARFARE TREATY FOR NOT GOING FAR ENOUGH, BUT
ENDORSES SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR WDC PROVIDED PERMANENT
MEMBERS OF SECURITY COUNCIL PARTICIPATE. GON GEELS,
HOWEVER, IT IS UNLIKELY SUCH A CONFERENCE CAN BE HELD SOON.

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12. WORLD POPULATION PROBLEMS. GON WILL INCREASE
CONTRIBUTION TO UN POPULATION FUND. GON REGARDS IT
URGENT THAT POPULATION GTOWTH IN MANY PARTS OF THE
WORLD BE REDUCED TO ACCEPTABLE PROPORTIONS AND THIS IS
ESSENTIAL UN TAKS. DUTCH WILL HOST UN SEMINAR ON POPULATION
AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN EARLY 1974, WHICH WILL CONSTITUTE PART
OF PREPARATION FOR WORLD POPULATION CONFERENCE.

13. COMMENT: FOREIGN POLICY MEMORANDUM BEARS STAMP OF NEW TEAM AT MFA WITH ITS STRONG IF SOMEWHAT GENERAL EMPHASIS ON AN ACTIVIST "PEACE POLICY." STRONG SUPPORT OF ATLANTIC ALLIANCE AND NECESSITY OF NATO INDICATES FEET ON THE GROUND APPROACH OF FOREIGN MINISTER VAN DER STOEL AND HIS COLLEAGUES, ALTHOUGH VAN DER STOEL CONTINUES TO CRITICIZE GREEK AND PORTUGUESE REGIMES, BUT NOT BY NAME. MEMORANDUM'S VIEWS ON EC ARE SIMILAR TO VIEWS OF PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT WHICH ALSO EMPHASIZED NEED FOR DEMOCRATIZATION OF EC INSTITUTIONS AS MEANS OF PROGRESS TOWARDS MEANINGFUL EUROPEAN POLITICAL UNION. MIDDLE EAST SECTION CONTAINS FAIRLY WELL KNOWN DUTCH POSITION, ALTHOUGH MFA APPEARS TO HAVE MADE A GREATER EFFORT TO PUT SOME MORE OF ONUS FOR FOR MIDDLE EAST IMPASSE ON ISRAEL DESPITE FACT THAT NEW COALITION HAS GENERALLY SEEMED MORE PRO-ISRAEL THAN ITS PREDECESSOR. AFRICAN SECTION CONTAINS NOTHING NEW ALTHOUGH MFA IS CLEARLY LESS FIERY ON ASSISTANCE TO SOTHERN AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS THAN MINISTER OF DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE PRONK. DISARMAMENT SECTION IS RELATIVELY PRO FORMA WITH GON ALREADY DISCOUNTING RESULTS OF DISARMAMENT NOTE IT PROPOSES TO DELIVER TO PARLIAMENT LATER IN THE SESSION. IN GENERAL, MFA MEMORANDUM INDICATES CHANGES IN EMPHASIS FROM POLICY OF PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT AND NO CRUCIAL CHANGES OF DIRECTION. MFA BUDGET MEMORANDUM HAS RECEIVED ONLY SCANT PUBLIC ATTENTION. LIKE DEFENSE MEMORANDUM WE SUSPECT IT WILL BE DISAPPOINTING TO EXTREME LEFT, ACCEPTABLE TO CENTER PARTIES AND, EXCEPT FOR STRONG STAND ON AFRICAN ISSUES, EVEN TO MORE CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL GROUPING. THUS FOREIGN POLICY MEMORANDUM MUCH LIKE QUEEN'S SPEECH, BUDGET, ETC, REFLECTS PRUDENCE, CAUTION AND COMMON SENSE OF FRAGILE COALITION GOVERNMENT WHICH REALIZES, DESPITE ITS CAMPAIGN RHETORIC, THAT THE MILLENNIUM LIMITED OFFICIAL USE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CAN SCARCELY BE ACHIEVED OVER NIGHT.
TANGUY

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